



Chapter One - A Social History of Education in Northern Nigeria

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Chapter One

A Social History of Education in Northern Nigeria

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Abstract

The social history of education in Northern Nigeria is a multifaceted subject that examines the impact of social and cultural factors on the development of education in the region. This study explores the dynamics that shaped the evolution of education in Northern Nigeria from pre-colonial times to the present day, with a particular focus on the socio-economic, political, and cultural factors that influenced the nature of educational provision and access. The study draws on a wide range of sources to illuminate the complex relationships between education, colonialism, and social change. It shows how education was used as a tool for social control and how it became a site of resistance and contestation during periods of political upheaval. The study highlights the challenges faced by education, including inadequate funding, a shortage of qualified teachers, and a lack of infrastructure; and proffer some recommendations. Overall, the social history of education in Northern Nigeria provides a rich and nuanced perspective on the complex and dynamic interplay between education and society in one of Africa's most important regions.



I. Introduction

In Northern Nigeria, education has been an essential component of the region's social history, shaping the cultural, religious, social and economic fabrics of the region but the social history of education in the region should be understood from two perspectives: rejection and accommodation. The social history of education in Northern Nigeria is a fascinating topic that examines how education has evolved in the region over time and the impact it has had on the society. From the pre-colonial era to the present day, the educational system has undergone significant changes, and these changes have had profound implications for the people of Northern Nigeria.

Education is incredibly important in Northern Nigeria, as it is throughout the country and the world. Education is key to empowering individuals, improving communities, and fostering economic development. There are several reasons why education is particularly important in Northern Nigeria. First, the region has historically had lower levels of education compared to other parts of the country. This has led to a skills gap, which in turn has limited economic growth and development in the region. By investing in education, Northern Nigeria can begin to close this skills gap and improve economic outcomes for its citizens. Second, education is crucial for promoting social cohesion and reducing conflict. Northern Nigeria has experienced significant levels of violence and conflict in recent years, much of which is rooted in political, religious, and ethnic divisions. By promoting education that emphasizes shared values and mutual respect, Northern Nigeria can help build a more peaceful and harmonious society. More so, education is key to improving health outcomes in Northern Nigeria. The region has some of the lowest health indicators in the country, including high rates of infant and maternal mortality. Education can play a critical role in improving health outcomes by promoting healthy behaviors and increasing access to healthcare services. Education is essential for unlocking the full potential of Northern Nigeria and creating a brighter future for its people.

The paper will also focus on the changing contours of traditional schooling in Northern Nigeria during the twentieth century. This was the increasingly rapid shift during the second decade of this century from makarantar allo (Qur'anic school) and makarantar ilimi (advanced school) forms of Islamic schooling to those offered by the 'modernised' schools (Islamiyah). First of all, the end of the nineteenth century was the beginning of the colonial 'episode' in pre-colonial Nigeria. The social history of education in Northern Nigeria provides insight into the region's



educational practices, beliefs, and values, and is essential for understanding the region's socio-cultural and political landscape.

Clarification of Concept of Education

Education is one of the agents of development as it enhances empowerment which in turn leads to human development. Perhaps this explains why education occupied a central role in the nation's capacity-building activities. What is education? Education means more than what it actually connotes to a layman because of its broadness in meaning and comprehensiveness in nature. The term 'education' has been defined in various ways. Bariko says education is the process of equipping or capacitating a people with the necessary knowledge, skills and attitude in the development of the community.¹ Meziron argues that education is a planned and organized effort to assist individuals in acquiring attitude skills and concepts required for their democratic participation in the effective solution of community problems in order of priority determined by their increasing level of competence.² O'Connor avers that education is an elaborate social mechanism designed by society to bring about in those submitted to its certain skills and attitudes that are judged to be useful and desirable.³

The definitions above could be misleading when used as explanatory variables to assess education in precolonial Nigeria. It is implied in the definition that education is always purposive, planned and organized in order that desirable goals be attained. In some societies, certain skills and attitudes may be judged to be useful and desirable. However, there may be no elaborate strategic and purposive designs for impacting them into individuals. We will favor the definition proffered by Nwala which, for us, is encompassing enough to accommodate Western and traditional education:

Education whether formal or informal is the recognized method. Whereby a person acquires most of his ideas, beliefs and attitudes: in short his knowledge, skill and manners necessary, not only for the hazards and problems of life... and to secure the needs of life also to fit into the company of his fellow human beings.⁴

¹ Bariko cited in Ugwulebo and Anele 2008, 42.

² Meziron cited in Ugwulebo and Anele 2008, 42.

³ O'Connor in Ekpenyong cited Onobia and Atemie eds., 1994, 110.

⁴ Nwala 1985, 242.



The relevance of his conceptualization to this chapter is taken, for instance, the inclusion of formal and informal situations for learning. This enables us to identify pre-colonial education that was largely informal. Furthermore, if education equips individuals with the herewith to fit into the company of their fellow human beings, then it should be incontestable that education is the bedrock of social cohesion.

II. Pre-colonial Education in Northern Nigeria

The history of education in Northern Nigeria is relatively linked with the introduction of Islam into the area.⁵ Therefore, a good start for the examination of the history of education in Northern Nigeria is the eleventh century.⁶ In that century, Islam came into the Nigerian region through Kanem-Borno area via long-existing Trans-Saharan trade. It was during this period that the ruler of Kanem, Mai Umme Jilmi or Humai b. Salemma (1085-1097) accepted Islam in 1086. His conversion was attributed to the activities and influence of renowned Muslim scholar, Muhammad bin Mani who had been in Jimi's court for many years.⁷ Subsequent rulers such as Dunoma I (1097) and Dunoma II (1221-1259) continued the tradition of Islamic learning. By the 13th century, Kanem had become a centre of Islamic learning.⁸ Since then that in Northern Nigeria, almost every town or village had a centre of religious studies. Mosques according to Islamic tradition were used not only for worship but as places of learning and diffusion and discussion of literary skills. The traditional system of Islamic education in Northern Nigeria was managed and supported by the rulers and Islamic scholars. For instance, in the old Kanem Borno Empire, the Ulama took an active interest in scholarship and the rulers supported them by issuing of Mahram, (this was a certificate of exemption from compulsory state duties) for scholars and other professionals. Missionary activities of the Kanem Borno Ulama were felt in Hausa, Nupe and Yorubaland and beyond.⁹ In Huasaland, Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio emphasized that it is the requirement of the Sharia to have at least one teacher in an area taking responsibility for imparting knowledge, while others do it voluntarily, which is called fard kifaya.¹⁰

⁵ Batiste 2007; Saeed 2010, 24.

⁶ Hogben 1967, 50. The precise date when Islam penetrated into the region now as Nigeria is yet to be determined by scholars, largely due to the absence of concrete evidence. The most reliable date of the presence of Islam in Nigeria, to the researcher's knowledge, has been eleventh century.

⁷ It was reported that during this period in Borno, Muhammad bin Mani taught Qur'anic recitation while Tura Tazan taught its calligraphy see Dahiru 1995, 141.

⁸ Ado and Yunusa 2014, 80.

⁹ Kyari 2014, 1,

¹⁰ Kyari 2014, 1,



That is to say, formal education existed in Northern Nigeria before the period of colonisation and the Jihad of Uthman Dan Fodio. The existence of two types of Qur'anic schools called makaranta allo and advanced school makaranta ilimi which existed in Northern Nigeria prior to colonization.¹¹ Students in these Qur'anic schools were taught to read and recite the Quran in Arabic, and some were also taught basic arithmetic and writing. After graduation from Qur'anic school, the students proceeded to makaranta ilimi to receive advanced knowledge from scholars who had specialized schools that focused on traditional subjects such as history, astrology, astronomy, medicine, and jurisprudence.¹² Under this type of education, the education of males and females had a separation.¹³ This type of traditional system of education in Northern Nigeria was largely practical, with an emphasis on developing practical skills that could be applied to daily life. The traditional system of education in Northern Nigeria had the following features:

- i. Education began from the home, particularly from the parents;
- ii. Family Relations contributed to the education of the child;
- iii. The foundation of character training for children started with parents from the home;
- iv. Parents had a say in the kind of education (literature) their children were exposed to;
- v. Children were well grounded in Islamic education at an early age; memorization of the Qur'an, ahadith, sirah, and adab.¹⁴

This clearly indicated that the training and discharging of children were collective of the extended family structure and the society at large. The responsibility of the socialization of the children was not left to the nuclear family or the schools alone, the extended relatives also played a significant role. This approach to education was deeply ingrained in the culture and played an important role in shaping the social and economic fabric of Northern Nigeria.

Tete and Mathew argue that missionary education was introduced into Nigeria on 19th December 1842 to Badagry by Mr. and Mrs. William De Graft and Rev as well

¹¹ Fafunwa 1974, 55.

¹² Kyari 2014, 2.

¹³ Mohammed 2009, 72.

¹⁴



as Thomas Birch Freeman of the Wesleyan Methodist Church.¹⁵ This was followed by the establishment of schools by Samuel Ajayi Crowther and others throughout Yorubaland.¹⁶ The main purpose of introducing missionary education during this period was to convert the people to the Christian faith.¹⁷ Therefore, many Muslims believe that schooling is equated to becoming Christian. Right from its inception, missionary education which much later metamorphosed into Western education.

III. Colonial Education in Northern Nigeria

The twentieth century began with a bitter experience of colonial conquest which subjected the local setting to enormous transformations. These transformations did not only affect the traditional scholarship but also the status of the 'Ulama. The British invasion of the area caused a fear that the Islamic set-up based on the Sharia system would be disturbed if not destroyed despite the British pledge not to interfere with the religious faith of the people. In addition to the loss of political sovereignty,¹⁸ the intelligentsia suspected that the British Christian conquest would jeopardize the pursuit of Islamic scholarship. As expected, the arrival of the British terminated the long period of the traditional system of education, though the colonial state proclaimed a secular ideology which presumably supported no religion but subsequent policies and actions of the colonial state in Northern Nigeria betrayed the secular principles it claimed.¹⁹

The introduction of the Western type of education manifested the bias of the colonial 'secular' policies. The colonial regime vigorously promoted Western education through funding and support not only for government schools but also for the missionaries who were also engaged in educational policies.²⁰ The colonial authorities established a system of education that was hierarchically organized, with primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of education. However, the education system was largely restricted to the urban areas and was limited in its coverage of the rural areas. The curriculum was largely focused on the teaching of English language and mathematics, with little emphasis on the study of local languages and cultures. In fact, western education schools were essentially centralised with standard curricular

¹⁵ Tete and Mathew 2020, 42; see also Kyari 2014, 2.

¹⁶ Kyari 2014, 2.

¹⁷ Tete and Mathew 2020, 42; see also Kyari 2014, 2.

¹⁸ Nguru and indeed the whole of the sultanate was brought under the British Empire of western Sudan. The Galadima of Nguru was now answerable to the Resident rather than to the Shehu of Borno whose status was marginalised by Lugard. He was treated in the capacity with the Galadima.

¹⁹ M. T. Usman 2010, 259.

²⁰ Ibid.



and English as a medium of instruction, with Latin characters. Initially, the education system was designed to serve the interests of the colonial authorities and was primarily aimed at producing low-level clerical officers and interpreters for the colonial administration.²¹ It was only in the late nineteenth century that sciences were taught which resulted in producing medical doctors, lawyers, technocrats etc. In fact, the curriculum was largely based on European knowledge and values, with little consideration for the traditional knowledge and values of the people of Northern Nigeria. The colonial education system was met with resistance from some segments of the population, who saw it as a threat to their traditional values and way of life. Kyari argues that this is due to the high level of ignorance that Muslims are not left behind but some even rejected this type of education and modernization.²² There were also concerns about the limited opportunities for upward mobility offered by the education system, as most of the educated elites were employed in low-level administrative positions.

With this type of sabotage in patronage, the Muslims in the colonial were left to only pursue Western colonial education whose main objectives were seemingly in collusion course with the traditional education as understood by the indigenous people and Islamic scholars. This is because the traditional system of Qur'anic education was alienated by the colonial administrators. The colonial state completely withdrew every type of support the traditional system of Qur'anic education had from the aristocracy before the colonial period. The system lost its privileges hitherto available to them in the pre-colonial period and the system was left by the colonial masters to stagnate, decay and become completely out of use. There was no policy backing it, so there was no funding from the colonial government.²³ Also, the emirs and chiefs could not collect dues/taxes from the public to support the traditional system of Islamic education. Those among them who had the courage to do so were blackmailed for mileage collection, dethroned and exiled.²⁴ The traditional system of Qur'anic education was therefore left at the mercy of the individual Ulama and parents of the children with no legislation to regulate its activities and no government support. In addition, no recognition of its qualifications.²⁵

²¹ Kyari 2014, 2.

²² Kyari 2014, 2.

²³ Mustapha 2017, 46.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.



Despite all the challenges, some parents, even though, refused to send their children to Western education schools, and subsequently, they went on discouraging other Muslims not to send their sons and daughters as well. Only a few individual Muslims had cooperated with the colonialists and enrolled their children in their schools.²⁶ The British administrators, therefore, sought to integrate the traditional Qur'anic schools into the government system as their part of their policy of "educating along native lines." This early attempt at integrating traditional Islamic schools with Western schools was based on the colonialists' understanding that only through educational enlightenment would the natives understand and appreciate their occupation of the area. As part of this effort, training courses were set up for traditional Qur'anic teachers in secular subjects, such as arithmetic and geography which yielded little result.²⁷ In the processes of the integration, the Makarantar allo and Makarantun ilimi were transformed and have taken a new form popularly known as "Islamiyah" or "Nizamiya."

These new reformed schools, with classrooms, timetables, and exercise books as in colonial and Christian schools, introduced an epistemic shift through printed books in Arabic. Now, some basic secular subjects and Islamic subjects are taught alongside one another under a new method, with a standard syllabus. The school was opened to propagate an 'alternative education,' where different teachers taught the reading of the Qur'an in Arabic to boys and girls in classrooms. Learners also received instructions in Arabic, English and indigenous languages. They transcribed lessons either from a chalkboard or from dictation by a teacher, in a book (littafi). The students would memorize the lesson at home and recite it to the teacher at school (in the hafiz tradition), and a new lesson was given when the first was successfully memorized. This present position of the integrated system of Qur'anic education does not seem to enjoy more than verbal support and sentiment while in reality, it has not got enough attention, nor has it been adequately focused and directed towards the achievement of its mission. This is because only Arabic and Islamic studies as subjects are being taught.²⁸ However, some branches of the traditional system of Qur'anic education are not taught for example Sharia, tawhid, history and philosophy of Islam, etc. are not adequately taught. If the integration should be full all the subjects in the traditional system of Qur'anic education should all be taught side by side or together with the Western education. To further weaken the essence of the traditional system of Islamic education, the colonial government

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Hassan 1992, 34.

²⁸ Mustapha 2017, 52.



had introduced the system of examining students at the end of their periodized course and an award of a certificate for employment. The concept of job opportunity was introduced to the graduates of such schools. As will be seen in the next section, in the post-colonial era, efforts were made to reform the education system in Northern Nigeria. The government introduced policies aimed at expanding access to education and promoting the study of local languages and cultures. In the subsequent years, thus, the Muslims continued to practice their tradition of education without any help from the colonial government. However, challenges remain, including inadequate funding, teacher shortages, and a lack of infrastructure in many areas.

IV. Post-colonial Education in Northern Nigeria

Post-colonial education in Northern Nigeria has undergone significant changes since the end of British colonial rule in 1960. As earlier noted, before independence, education in Northern Nigeria was mainly focused on Islamic studies, with few opportunities for formal Western-style education. However, with the emergence of Nigeria as an independent nation, the government of the region began to place a greater emphasis on formal education. One of the most significant reforms in post-colonial Northern Nigeria was the establishment of a regional government-run education system, which aimed to provide free education for all. This led to the construction of new schools and the recruitment of more teachers to meet the growing demand for education. Additionally, the government introduced a policy of affirmative action, which aimed to increase the enrollment of girls in schools and to address the gender gap in education. Another important development in post-colonial education in Northern Nigeria was the introduction of a new curriculum that incorporated both Islamic and Western education. This curriculum aimed to provide a more comprehensive education to students, and it also sought to promote national unity by including subjects that emphasized the shared history and culture of Nigeria.

V. Challenges of Education in Northern Nigeria

Despite these positive developments, there have been challenges in post-colonial education in Northern Nigeria. These include inadequate funding for schools, a shortage of qualified teachers, and a lack of educational resources. Additionally, the ongoing conflict in the region has disrupted education, with many schools forced to close due to security concerns. Generally, post-colonial education in Northern



Nigeria has made significant progress since independence, but there is still much work to be done to ensure that all children in the region have access to quality education.

Some of the several challenges that face education in Northern Nigeria include

Poor Funding: One of the biggest challenges of education in Northern Nigeria is poor funding. It is underfunded which leads to inadequate infrastructural facilities, equipment, and the number of qualified and experienced.²⁹ It is on record that since 1986 when the Federal military government introduced the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the allocation of financial resources started to fall coupled with the consistent decline in the value of local currency to date. Which have also consistently affected the procurement of imported technical and scientific equipment, books, journals, and other instructional needs in the educational system.³⁰

Limited access to education: Provision of access to functional quality education is a constitutional right of all Nigerian citizens and one of the national educational policy objectives is to ensure the provision of education for all children of school-going age which has been the prime target of educational endeavours in Nigeria since the mid-1970s when the Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme was launched in 1976.³¹

Access to education remains an issue in primary education. The demand has not been fully met in a society where social mobility depends more on academic achievement than anything else. The issue of access has been manipulated for political reasons. Such activity has opened up opportunities for malpractices that now run deep in the system.³² There is also disparity between Northern and Southern Nigeria in terms of teaching and learning resources, and the participation of males and females in education. Northern Nigeria has the lowest literacy rates in the country, and a significant number of children, especially girls, are not enrolled in school. This is due to factors such as poverty, cultural beliefs, early marriage, and inadequate infrastructure. In the North, there are also disparities between urban and rural schools and between education institutions owned and controlled by the

²⁹ Tijjani and Jiyah 2012, 28

³⁰ Odia and Omofonmwan 2007 in Tijjani and Jiyah 2012, 27.

³¹ Tijjani and Jiyah 2012, 26-7.

³² Tijjani and Jiyah 2012, 27.



states and privates. The entire system reflects privileges and differentiation, with merit and quality usually the victims.³³

Poor quality of education: Quality education is often measured by three broad variables which he listed as input, process and output variables. The last variable, i.e. input which is the focus of our discussion refers to the human and material resources such as teaching and administrative personnel, physical facilities such as classrooms, libraries, and instructional materials.³⁴ Many schools in Northern Nigeria lack human and material resources such as classrooms, textbooks, and qualified teachers. This affects the quality of education and makes it difficult for students to acquire the skills needed for employment.

Insecurity: Today, the challenges that confront Nigeria in the area of security are overwhelming. Nigeria's corporate existence and her overall economic, social and political development are being threatened by insecurity. Crimes of all sorts; ethnic, religious and communal and political violence; kidnapping, assassination, terrorism, sabotage etc. have become the order of the day.³⁵ The northern region of Nigeria has experienced significant security challenges, which have affected education. Boko Haram insurgency has caused the closure of many schools in the region and has forced many students and teachers to flee their homes.³⁶ Clashes between parents and teachers over discipline in schools. Beheading of a primary school pupil by cultists at St. Theresa primary school Makurdi in 2009. Kidnapping of school children for ransom, clashes between pupils and the bullying of the smaller ones by the bigger ones in schools.³⁷

Gender inequality: Girls are often disadvantaged when it comes to education in Northern Nigeria. They are more likely to be forced into early marriages, which hinders their education. Many families also prioritize the education of boys over girls. Poverty has always been observed as one of the biggest factors that militate against better and continuity in education in Northern Nigeria.³⁸ Many families especially in polygamous homes produce many children that they cannot adequately train. Therefore, the only tendency for such parents is to give their daughters to early marriage.³⁹

³³ Tijjani and Jiyah 2012, 27.

³⁴ Oyetunde 2006 cited in Mohammed 2009, 68.

³⁵ Garba 2013, 25.

³⁶ Garba 2013, 26.

³⁷ Akwaki 2012, 15.

³⁸ Mohammed 2009, 68.

³⁹ Mohammed 2009, 72.



Poverty: Nigeria as a developing country is seriously challenged by poverty.⁴⁰ Poverty is a state of deprivation experienced by an individual and it is also seen as a lack of resources and materials necessary for living within the minimum required standards appropriate to human dignity and well-being.⁴¹ Out of every 10 Nigerians 7 live on less than \$1 a day and the picture is getting bad by the day.⁴² In the poverty in Nigeria, poor parents beget poor children, thereby creating a kind of dynasty of the poor. Poverty is a significant factor affecting education in Northern Nigeria.⁴³ This is because many families cannot afford to pay for school fees, uniforms, and textbooks, which leads to low enrollment rates and high dropout rates. The greater percentage are either discouraged or dropped from schools due to the high cost of maintaining wards (come from poor parents) guardians.⁴⁴ Even though, it is observed that the situations vary from zone to zone in Nigeria. In fact, the lack of basic education, and adequate social and economic infrastructure is one of the key constrain to short and medium-term poverty in Nigeria.⁴⁵

Addressing these challenges will require a concerted effort by the government, civil society organizations, and the private sector to improve access, quality, and relevance of education in Northern Nigeria.

VI. Recommendations

Education in Northern Nigeria faces several challenges that need to be addressed to improve the quality of education and increase access for all. Some of the recommendations to address these challenges include

Increase funding for education: The government should allocate more resources towards education to improve infrastructure, teacher training, and the overall quality of education in the region.

Improve teacher training: Teachers in Northern Nigeria need to be equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge to effectively teach their students. Teacher training programs should be developed and implemented to ensure that teachers

⁴⁰ Yusuf 2014, 34.

⁴¹ Siddique 2013, 61.

⁴² Amobi 2008 cited in Yusuf 2014, 34.

⁴³ Mohammed 2009, 68.

⁴⁴ Mohammed 2009, 68.

⁴⁵ Muhammad 2021, 59.



are well-prepared. This is because other unqualified or unspecialized people are employed due to selfishness or issues of godfatherism.⁴⁶

Increase access to education: There is a need to provide more opportunities for children to access education. This can be achieved by building more schools, providing scholarships for disadvantaged students, and encouraging parents to send their children to school.

Address security concerns: The ongoing security challenges in Northern Nigeria have disrupted education and made it difficult for children to attend school. The government should prioritize security to ensure that schools are safe and secure for both teachers and students.

Promote girls' education: Girls in Northern Nigeria face several barriers to education, including cultural norms and poverty. Efforts should be made to promote girls' education through awareness campaigns, scholarships, and incentives for families to send their daughters to school.

Use technology to enhance learning: Information technology nowadays plays a substantial role in the education sector. The use of technology in education can help to enhance learning and make education more accessible. Negrophone et al viewed that the educational sector such as universities, polytechnics, colleges of education etc. use data or information stored in computers for reference purposes and lecture delivery. Conferences can also be presented by the use of computer technology which consequently provides easy, rapid and understandable contact between the teachers, audience the students.⁴⁷ The government should invest in technology infrastructure and provide training for teachers on how to effectively use technology in the classroom.

Increase community involvement: Community involvement in education can help to improve the quality of education and increase access. Communities should be encouraged to participate in school activities and provide support for teachers and students. The community should be mobilized to also undertake supervision to observe teachers'/students' activities in the classroom with a view to ensuring that there is good interaction between the teachers and the students. This gives confidence to both the teachers and the students and it promotes good learning.

⁴⁶ Grace 2012, 87.

⁴⁷ Negrophone 2003.



Good interaction between the teachers and the students promotes a good learning environment.⁴⁸

VII. Conclusion

In conclusion, the social history of education in Northern Nigeria is a complex and multifaceted topic that has undergone significant changes over the years. From the traditional Qur'anic education system to the colonial era and post-independence period, education in Northern Nigeria has played a critical role in shaping the region's social, cultural, and economic landscape.

Despite the challenges posed by factors such as poverty, gender disparities, and religious and ethnic differences, Northern Nigeria has made significant strides in expanding access to education, increasing literacy rates, and improving educational outcomes in recent years. However, much still needs to be done to ensure that education is accessible, affordable, and of high quality to all citizens in the region. Furthermore, given the rapidly changing global landscape and the increasing importance of education in driving economic growth and development, it is essential for Northern Nigeria to continue to prioritize education and invest in innovative approaches that can prepare the region's youth for the challenges and opportunities of the future. Largely, the social history of education in Northern Nigeria is a fascinating and important topic that underscores the critical role education plays in shaping society, promoting social mobility, and driving economic progress. As such, it is an area that warrants continued attention, research, and investment in the years to come.

⁴⁸ Grace 2012, 88.



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